

SECRET

25X1A

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

-2-

his family usually consists of four or five members, it is obvious that the goods of the state stores are not within his reach.

This policy of persecution has made the private farmer very bitter against the Communist regime. However, overt expression of dissatisfaction is not tolerated and offenders of this hard-and-fast rule invariably end up in the so-called "Labor-Educational Communities", which is the Communist equivalent of a concentration camp.

The summer of 1950 was singularly hard on the private, small landowner. On the strength of good prospects the government assigned production quotas to all peasant-farmers and collective farms. However, the summer of 1950 turned out to be extremely dry, so much so that the producers found it impossible to turn in the quotas assigned to them. Special delegations were dispatched to Sofia to plead for revision of the quotas but the Communists retorted by sending out members of the Politburo and the Central Committee to locate and punish the "instigators" of this "revolt".

The quotas were collected by the government at the time of harvest, and those of the small landowners who were unable to furnish the specified amounts were forced to purchase the balance in the so-called "free market" at excessive prices in order to avoid harsh sanctions.

The Communist regime has found the small landowners a tough nut to crack, primarily because of their deep attachment to the land they possess; and, so far, the policy of promoting collectivized farming has met with little success. It is, however, difficult to assess correctly how much longer their resistance will last in the face of incessant and ever-increasing pressure.

- b. Members of Collective Farms (Trudovi Kooperativni Zemedelaki Stopanstva): To date, about 20 percent of the peasant-farmers have been incorporated into collective farms. In accordance with the Communist policy, this group is given preferential treatment in every respect: essential commodities (salt, kerosene, clothes) are furnished at fixed (low) prices; production quotas are lower; the most fertile fields are incorporated in the collective farms; every member is allotted a minimum amount of produce, the quantity being proportional to the labor-days furnished by him and the members of his family.

Management of the collective farms is entrusted to members of the Communist Party. Until the present time, recruitment of farmers has been based on pressure applied in various ways none of which can be described as humane. The majority of the collective farmers are dissatisfied with the system and, particularly, with the manner of allocating the produce because the members of the Communist Party invariably get larger returns for fewer and less-productive labor-days. Here, as elsewhere, complaints of this sort are treated as "sabotage" and offenders are branded as "fascists" and "servants" of Anglo-American imperialism.

In the districts of Lom and Vratsa the majority of the peasant-farmers have been incorporated in collective farms, and villages such as Medkovets and Vulchi Trun, district of Lom, are collectivized 100 percent.

- c. Forest Workers and Cattle Breeders: This comparatively small group of peasant-farmers inhabits the mountainous regions of the country, particularly the Rodopi range, where tillable land is scarce. Their primary means of subsistence is provided by the sawmill and lumber industry and, to a smaller extent, by cattle-breeding. Hauling logs, by means of team of oxen, is well remunerated. A man can make between 2500 and 3500 leva per day. But the work is very arduous and employment is seasonal. Woodcutters and sawmill hands get between 350 and 450 leva per day.

Cattle-breeding has been greatly reduced owing to excessive production quotas which the government collects at low fixed prices.

SECRET

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

25X1A

- 3 -

Forest workers and cattle-breeders represent only about 5 percent of the number of peasant-farmers, and in their majority they, too, are very dissatisfied with the Communist regime.

- d. Wealthy Farmers - Koulaks: The term is generally applied to all well-to-do individuals who are known to resent Communism, to every one who has expressed disagreement with the Communist methods and to those who have been requested to join collective farms and have refused to do so.

This small group of unfortunate farmers is rapidly being exterminated. The Communists use them as scapegoats for all the shortcomings of the regime. Whether it is general dissatisfaction or failure on the part of the farmers to fulfill production quotas, the Koulaks are to blame. If there is too much or too little rain, if uncomplimentary stories are told about the Communist Party - the Koulaks are responsible. The least of the measures taken against them is writing on the walls of their homes, in large black letters: "Here lives an enemy of the people. Do not enter."

3. WORKERS, CIVIL SERVANTS AND UNEMPLOYED CITIZENS:

- a. Industrial Workers and Tobacco Workers: The majority of the workers in Bulgaria belong to this group. Wages vary between 180 and 550 leva, depending on the qualification of the individuals. Each category has a fixed quota for the normal 8-hour day and fulfillment of this quota is strictly observed. Because of increased production quotas were increased on several occasions and have reached a limit requiring maximum efforts on the part of the workers.
- b. Workers in Crafts and Trades: This group represents about 20 percent of the workers category and, as regards wages and supplies, is on a par with the industrial and tobacco workers.
- c. Construction Workers: Wages vary between 350 and 550 leva, but owing to the strenuous work there is a constant shortage of hands.
- d. Mine Workers: A small group (5 percent), their wages vary between 350 and 550 leva. In exceptional cases, by surpassing the established quotas, earnings rise to 700 to 800 leva per day. Although food rations are very high, there is a constant shortage of hands. To avert a falling of production the government uses slave labor (political unreliaables) at all mines.
- e. Civil Servants: The country has never had as many civil servants as at the present time. In the majority they are Communists and fellow-travelers, but owing to the lack of qualified personnel the regime is compelled to keep a fairly large number of known anti-Communists on the payroll. As a rule these are constantly under surveillance, and they are never placed in key positions. The average salary of the civil servant is 9,000 leva, which is not sufficient to provide sustenance for a whole family, not to mention clothes. As a result, most of them are dissatisfied with the regime but have no alternative other than to pay their dues to the Communist Party and keep their jobs. On an average, the rations made available to the civil servants see them through the twentieth of each month only.
- f. Pensioners (Retired personnel): On 9 September 1944, all pensions were revised and in numerous instances were denied to the individuals on grounds of collaboration with the Germans, fascist tendencies, et cetera. On the other hand, new pensions were authorized to Communist Party members who had suffered under the former regimes. The average monthly pension is approximately 7,000 leva and all pensioners are provisioned on a par with the workers.

CONFIDENTIAL
SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

25X1A

-4-

- g. Unemployed Citizens: This is the most unfortunate of all groups. Citizens who have been unable to secure jobs for some reason or other are deprived of all ration cards and must procure all their necessities from the state stores at prohibitive prices. Moreover, the Communist laws provide that any one without a job for six months is liable to compulsory mobilization for labor, and must put in at least six months of work at the end of which he is released. If he fails to find a job during the next six months, he is again picked up and put to work.
- h. Housewives and the Aged: Regardless of whether one or more members of a family are employed, the housewives and the aged are given ration cards of the lowest category.
4. PRIVATE TRADESMEN AND CRAFTSMEN: Private practice of the trades and crafts is rapidly coming to an end in Bulgaria. In the villages and smaller towns all tradesmen and craftsmen are forcibly made to join cooperatives or collectives, at the head of which is some Communist. Small elements of this group have survived in the larger towns and cities, such as barbers, carpenters, tailors, iron mongers, shoemakers, et cetera; but the number dwindles from one day to the next under the pressure and threats from the authorities. It is generally believed that most of the tradesmen and craftsmen, including those who have been made to join cooperatives or collectives, are bitterly anti-Communist.
5. INTELLECTUAL WORKERS:
- a. Writers, Actors, Artists: Having purged the ranks of this group from all undesirable and non-Communist elements, the authorities made a maximum effort to enlist the support of the remaining members. To a very large extent this effort produced satisfactory results for the regime. Material benefits were bestowed lavishly and monetary prizes (Dimitrov Prizes) ranging from 50,000 to 400,000 leva were regularly awarded to distinguished Communist members of the group. It is safe to assume that the writers, actors and artists constitute, at the present time, a positive element of support to the Communist regime.
- b. School Teachers: Unlike the fate of other groups, the Communist purge of the school teachers since 9 September 1944 was practically insignificant. The main body of all teaching personnel embraced Communism wholeheartedly and became the most ardent agitator and conductor of Communist ideology in Bulgaria.
- In 1948 and, again, in 1949, the salaries of the school teachers were increased and rationed goods were made available to them. They are, without a doubt, the most faithful supporters of the present Communist regime.
6. THE FREE PROFESSIONS: Besides doctors and dentists, there are no other free professions in Bulgaria at present. At that, all doctors and dentists are required to put in most of their time in state hospitals, polyclinics and sanatoriums and only attend to their private practice in their spare time.
- All other free professions, such as lawyers, architects, engineers, et cetera are incorporated into collectives and are deprived of the right of free practice.
- It is logical to conclude that with the exception of a few fellow-travelers the bulk of this group is against the Communist dictatorship.
7. MERCHANTS AND INDUSTRIALISTS:
- a. Merchants: The last days of this class are in sight. In the villages and smaller towns the merchants have disappeared. In the larger towns

~~SECRET~~

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

25X1A

-5-

a few of them are still in evidence, but they are not expected to last much longer, and most of them, rather than back Communist pressure and threats, are voluntarily winding up their businesses. The class, as a whole, is bitterly anti-Communist.

- b. Industrialists: All industrial concerns were nationalized at the end of 1947 and the class, as such, ceased to exist. The majority of the former industrialists were deported from their places of residence, and their homes were turned over to members of the Communist Party.

8. OFFICERS AND CLERGY:

- a. Officers: The officers corps is perhaps the hardest hit of all classes in Bulgaria. Several hundred army officers were liquidated without trial on 9 September 1944; the great majority of those that remained were discharged from the service in the summer of 1946 and, in most cases, were sent to concentration camps; the few survivors were closely watched and their ranks were purged still further in the years since 1946. It is fairly positive that the few army officers who are still in the service have either become members of the Communist Party or have furnished sufficient proof that they are faithful to the regime. The corps were replenished with newly-commissioned Communist Party members, former partisans, whose qualifications are non-existent but who can be relied to follow the party line.
- b. Clergy: On 9 September 1944, many of the clergymen were banished to prisons or concentration camps. The Church as a whole was regarded as entirely untrustworthy from the Communist point of view, but more drastic steps against it were not taken until the regime became firmly entrenched in Bulgaria.

In the fall of 1947, His Beatitude Exarch Stefan I was deported to the village of Banya (Karlovo) for his alleged opposition to the participation of women in the so-called "brigadiers labor movement". The Metropolitan Paisii of Vratsa, generally referred to as "fellow-traveler" by the people, replaced him as head of the Bulgarian Church. The Church was separated from the State and became an independent entity. The clergymen are paid by the Holy Synod, whose revenues are derived from donations by the people. The Bulgarian Orthodox Church, in its majority, is still one of the main anti-Communist elements.

9. CONCLUSION: In very general terms, the bulk of the Bulgarian population can presently be divided into two main categories, namely:

- a. Fanatical Communists and fellow-travelers, an insignificant minority of individuals benefited by the regime, and
- b. The People of Bulgaria, peasant-farmers, workers, tradesmen, merchants, etc., including a large part of Communist Party members (primarily workers), who have been deprived of the minimum requirements for existence and live under constant pressure. Having experienced the "benefits" of the Communist regime, the Bulgarian people are patiently abiding the day in which they will be provided with the means of exterminating this evil and restore freedom and democracy in the land.

~~SECRET~~